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Security Council

Sixty-fifth year

Provisional

6407th meeting

Thursday, 21 October 2010, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Rugunda	(Uganda)
Members:	Austria	Mr. Mayr-Harting
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mr. Barbalić
	Brazil	Mrs. Viotti
	China	Mr. Wang Min
	France	Mr. Araud
	Gabon	Mr. Issoze-Ngondet
	Japan	Mr. Nishida
	Lebanon	Mr. Salam
	Mexico	Mr. Puente
	Nigeria	Mr. Amieyeofori
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Turkey	Mr. Apakan
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant
	United States of America	Mrs. DiCarlo

Agenda

The situation in Somalia

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Somalia

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Somalia, in which he requests that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia to participate in the consideration of the item, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ibrahim (Somalia) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: On behalf of the Council, I wish to extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Yusuf Hasan Ibrahim, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Ramtane Lamamra, Commissioner for Peace and Security of the African Union Commission.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Lamamra to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Ban Ki-moon, and I invite him to take the floor.

The Secretary-General: Thank you for the opportunity to address the Council on this pressing challenge.

The situation in Somalia remains fragile, but there are glimmers of hope. Notwithstanding recent internal divisions, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) remains committed to peace and reconciliation. The President has appointed a new Prime Minister, and I urge the Parliament to endorse him, so as to allow a new Government to come into place without delay.

The Government is also developing its security sector institutions. It is carrying out an offensive against the insurgents, and has taken over some main cities previously occupied by them. Reports of residents taking down the Al Shabaab flags that had been flying in the town of Belet Hawo, and hoisting the Somali national flag instead, are a sign of the Somali people's yearning for peace and security.

These actions — some concrete, others more symbolic, including the resumption of broadcasting by Radio Mogadishu and the rehabilitation of some key buildings — demonstrate the Government's resolve to meet those aspirations, in partnership with the international community.

At the same time, the obstacles are well known. Two million people, including 1.4 million who have been displaced internally since 2007, need emergency aid. Continuing insecurity and conflict in parts of the country are attracting foreign extremist elements. This poses a threat not only to Somalia, but to the region, the continent and beyond. We have all seen what can happen when terrorists and others take advantage of a country's fragility to establish a haven.

Support to the TFG, its reconciliation efforts and its fight against extremism will go a long way, but the international community must act now if it is to make a difference. The United Nations will continue to work towards achieving the political objectives of the Djibouti peace process in the following four key areas.

First, it must support the outreach and reconciliation efforts of the TFG with those outside the peace process. To sustain these efforts, my Special Representative, Augustine Mahiga, has been making regular visits to Mogadishu and States in the region. Under his leadership, the United Nations Political Office for Somalia (UNPOS) is encouraging dialogue

with entities that renounce violence and are still out of the Djibouti political process.

Secondly, it must support the TFG in completing the priority tasks outlined in the Transitional Federal Charter, in particular consultations on the constitutions. As recommended at the International Contact Group meeting in Madrid on 27 September, the TFG has agreed to prepare a road map with a prioritized comprehensive strategy, political objectives and timelines for the remainder of the transition. UNPOS will facilitate this process.

Thirdly, it must advance the implementation of agreements between the TFG and other regional authorities. In order to be effective in ensuring that this process happens, we are beefing up our political presence in Puntland and Somaliland.

Fourthly, it must develop functioning State institutions. In addition to holding more meetings of the High-Level Committee and the Joint Security Committee inside Somalia, UNPOS and the country team will focus on strengthening the capacities of the various ministries.

In each of these areas, the United Nations will continue its light footprint approach in order to be closer to the Somali people and authorities. We will also ensure that United Nations efforts are well coordinated, in line with my policy of integrating United Nations operations. As I indicated in my most recent report to the Security Council (S/2010/447), in the coming months I intend to submit for the Council's consideration proposals for an integrated United Nations presence.

I commend the African Union (AU) and its Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) for their efforts in assisting the TFG in its security and military efforts. The United Nations Support Office for AMISOM has been providing critical logistics support to AMISOM, making it a better-equipped military force. As we will hear shortly from Commissioner Lamamra, AMISOM's military strategy aims at assisting the TFG in establishing professional security sector institutions, implementing its agreements with other groups and authorities, creating humanitarian space and delivering basic services to the people. This strategy fully supports and complements the overall political strategy for Somalia.

However, if AMISOM is to be enabled to be an ever more effective partner, further international help will be needed. In my most recent report to the Council, I expressed concern about the substantial resource gaps that continue to have an adverse impact on the Mission. Extensive consultations have taken place — notably last month's informal meeting of members of the Security Council, major donors and other partners, jointly convened by the Under-Secretaries-General for Political Affairs and Field Support — aimed at resolving the lack of predictable and sufficient funding. The issue of funding for AMISOM also featured prominently in statements delivered at the mini-summit I convened during the general debate of the General Assembly, and again during the recent Council mission to Africa.

Following these consultations, the report of the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union is now before the Council. The report calls for significant additional support for AMISOM to be funded through the assessed contributions of States Member of the United Nations.

I encourage the Council to take the bold and courageous decisions necessary to enhance the capacity of AMISOM to deliver more effectively on its mandate. The Security Council may wish to consider phasing the additional support in line with the phases outlined in Chairperson Ping's report. This approach would allow for periodic review of the impact of the additional United Nations support. My Special Representative is working closely with the AU and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development to ensure coherence between their military strategy and the international community's political objectives, as outlined in the Djibouti Agreement.

In return, I urge the Somali authorities to consolidate their efforts and unite against the threat of extremism. The TFG must also start to deliver improved services to the Somali people, pay salaries to the security forces, and build up its security sector institutions. The support of the international community is critical in this regard.

In a country that has been in conflict for two decades, peace requires sustained efforts and a long-term strategy. I pay tribute to all those contributing to that goal: the African Union Mission in Somalia, countries that have contributed troops, Somalia's neighbours, and Member States that have shown great

commitment in supporting Somalia and the peace process.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

I now give the floor to Mr. Lamamra.

Mr. Lamamra: On behalf of the African Union (AU) Commission and its Chairperson, Mr. Jean Ping, as well as on behalf of the members of my delegation — including Ambassador Boubacar Diarra, Special Representative of the Chairperson of the Commission and head of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), and Major General Nathan Mugisha, AMISOM Force Commander — I would like to most warmly commend you, Sir, for organizing this meeting. Coming as it does on the heels of the mini-summit convened here in New York on 23 September by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, this meeting bears further testimony to the determination of the United Nations to sustain the current momentum in the search for a durable solution to the crisis in Somalia.

We commend the Secretary-General for the attention and efforts he continues to devote to the situation in Somalia, and for his rich and forward-looking statement to the Council this morning. That statement indeed translated his renewed and unflinching commitment to bringing a durable end to the two decades of suffering endured by the Somali people. Indeed, such a strong determination, which is required from the international community as a whole, hardly needs to be emphasized. The protracted suffering inflicted on the Somali people and the increasing threat posed by the situation to regional stability and to international peace and security cannot be allowed to continue any longer.

Today's meeting of the Security Council is taking place a week after the 245th meeting of the AU Peace and Security Council, which convened at the ministerial level in Addis Ababa on 15 October. The meeting provided an opportunity to review in-depth the situation in Somalia and to take far-reaching decisions, whose timely implementation, we are convinced, will help turn around the situation on the ground and assist the Somali people in opening a new and more peaceful chapter in the history of their war-torn country.

The current developments in Somalia are well known. I would like, however, to provide a brief overview of the background against which the Peace and Security Council meeting took place and to highlight political, security and humanitarian aspects.

First, over the past few months, the political situation has been challenged by the inability of the Transitional Federal Institutions to effectively implement their obligations under the Transitional Federal Charter and the Djibouti peace process. That was mainly due to the intermittent and recurrent wrangling within the leadership of the Transitional Federal Institutions and the resultant lack of cohesion, which led to the resignation of Prime Minister Omar Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke, on 21 September. The African Union notes that President Sheikh Sharif Sheikh Ahmed has now appointed a new Prime Minister. We look forward to the early formation of a representative Cabinet and the speedy completion of the parliamentary confirmation process.

Secondly, the security situation in Mogadishu and in the rest of Somalia — the south-central area — remains unacceptable, as demonstrated by the persistent violence in the country and other heinous acts, such as the mortar attacks, assassinations and suicide bombings that continue to be perpetrated against the Somali people, the Transitional Federal Institutions and AMISOM by the insurgents and terrorist groups of the Al-Shabaab and Hizbul Islam with the active support of foreign elements. The African Union is very concerned that the insecurity in Somalia is spilling over into the region, as attested by the despicable Kampala bombings of 11 July 2010.

Thirdly, the humanitarian situation is of the utmost concern. It is characterized by persistent attacks against humanitarian workers and agencies by Al-Shabaab and Hizbul Islam, by limited access, as well as by inadequate funding.

In reviewing the situation in Somalia, the African Union Peace and Security Council was guided by the urgency of effective and coordinated action by the Somalis and the international community. In particular, the Peace and Security Council was convinced that the situation required three layers of action.

The first layer concerns the Somalis themselves. Indeed, the Somalis, and their leaders in particular, have the primary responsibility for the restoration of peace, security and stability in their country. That is why the Peace and Security Council strongly urged the leadership of the Transitional Federal Institutions and all other stakeholders to show selfless leadership,

resolve and unity of purpose. Without such dispositions, no amount of external assistance will make it possible to effectively turn around the situation in Somalia.

More specifically, bearing in mind that 20 August 2011 will mark the end of the transitional period, the Peace and Security Council requested the Transitional Federal Institutions of Somalia, first, to ensure the confirmation of the new Prime Minister by the Transitional Federal Parliament and the formation of a new Government; secondly, to develop a road map with regard to the management of the remaining transition period, with clear political, security and reconstruction priorities, in line with the Djibouti process; thirdly, to expeditiously complete the outstanding transitional tasks, including in particular the constitutional process; fourthly, to continue to reach out to all peace-embracing Somalis, in a spirit of inclusiveness, bearing in mind that the Djibouti peace process remains the sole basis for peace and reconciliation in Somalia; and, fifthly, to urgently endorse the draft national security and stabilization plan and the security-sector assessment report.

The second layer relates to the African Union. The Somalis will not succeed in their efforts without the full support of the continent and that of the international community as a whole. While the situation in Somalia calls for the mobilization of resources and assets that are beyond the means of the African Union, our continental organization cannot abdicate its responsibilities to Somalia and fail its people. Building on the achievements made so far, the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) will continue to do their utmost to support the Somalis as they strive to bring to a definite end the conflict and violence that have plagued their country for two decades. In particular, the African Union's action over the coming months will centre on the following efforts.

First, we will focus on supporting the political process, including the management of the remaining transitional period and efforts to reach out to all peace-embracing Somalis.

Secondly, we will concentrate on strengthening AMISOM in order to bring its military component to 20,000 troops and its police component to 1,680. That increase in strength will be accompanied by the enhancement of the Mission's equipment. In addition, AMISOM's civilian component will be enhanced substantially.

Thirdly, we will focus on mobilizing the international community so that it can fully play its role. The appointment of former Ghanaian President Jerry John Rawlings as African Union High Representative for Somalia will no doubt inject new momentum in that respect.

The third layer pertains to the international community, and in particular the United Nations. Clearly, while duly acknowledging the support rendered so far, we at the African Union strongly believe that more efforts are required for the international community to rise to the challenge posed by the current situation in Somalia. More specifically, the Peace and Security Council ministerial meeting has urged the United Nations Security Council to take the following actions.

The Council has been urged, first, to endorse the newly authorized strength of AMISOM.

Secondly, the Council has been urged to authorize an enhanced support package for AMISOM, funded through United Nations assessed contributions on the basis of the newly authorized strength and catering for reimbursements for contingent-owned equipment, including minor and major equipment, and the payment of troop allowances at United Nations rates, in order to ensure adequate, predictable and sustainable support to the Mission. In addition, such support should be provided to the Mission, both within and outside Somalia, as required.

Thirdly, in response to the request by the African Union and IGAD, the Council has been urged to impose a naval blockade and a no-flight zone over Somalia to prevent the entry of foreign fighters into the country and the operation of flights carrying shipments of weapons and ammunition to armed groups inside Somalia — the very groups responsible for attacks against the Transitional Federal Government, AMISOM and the Somali population. In that respect, the Security Council might like to consider requesting the Governments and organizations involved in the naval operations undertaken off the coast of Somalia to provide, with the Council's authorization, more direct and tangible operational support to AMISOM.

Fourthly, the Council has been urged to ensure the effective implementation of sanctions against all

those impeding the peace and reconciliation process in Somalia.

Fifthly, the Council has been urged to approach the issue of piracy off the coast of Somalia in a holistic manner, with a view to effectively addressing the underlying causes and other equally serious threats that affect the livelihoods and well-being of the Somali people, in particular illegal fishing and the dumping of toxic substances and waste off the coast of Somalia.

Lastly, the Council has been urged to reaffirm the commitment to deploy, in due course, a United Nations peacekeeping operation in Somalia through the re-hatting of AMISOM, and to establish a timeline for such a deployment.

Somalia is today at a crossroads. While the situation on the ground remains very difficult and the transitional federal institutions of Somalia are confronted with a myriad of challenges, not least those relating to their internal cohesion and effectiveness, we should not lose sight of the opportunities that exist to make peace happen in Somalia. After two decades of conflicts and chaos, the Somalis are yearning for peace. In addition, there is today greater awareness than ever before of the serious threat that the current situation in Somalia poses to international peace and security, as illustrated by the phenomenon of piracy and, even more dramatically, the Kampala terrorist bombings of July 2010.

The international community can decide to pursue its current policy of limited engagement and half-hearted measures in the false hope that the situation can be contained, and continue to make the existence of peace a precondition for the deployment of a United Nations operation and a greater contribution to the stabilization of the situation in Somalia.

But the international community can also decide that it should step up its efforts, bearing in mind its duties and responsibilities to Somalia and its people and the need to give concrete meaning to the much-heralded notion of the responsibility to protect, as well as the urgent need to confront the threat that the prevailing situation poses to international peace and security. We at the African Union are convinced that this is the right course of action and that the time for action is now, in the expectation that 2010, the Year of Peace and Security in Africa, will indeed bring the blessings of a normal life to the people of Somalia.

We therefore call on the Security Council to stand alongside the African Union in rising to the challenge and responding decisively to the desperate call for assistance from the Somali people.

The President: I now give the floor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia, His Excellency Mr. Yusuf Hasan Ibrahim.

Mr. Ibrahim (Somalia): I take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting on Somalia and enabling us to participate in the discussion. I also want to thank you for the excellent way you have been facilitating the work of the Security Council. At the same time, I want to thank the Secretary-General, the Secretariat, and the bilateral, multilateral and non-governmental organizations that have assisted Somalia, in one way or another, during the very difficult past two decades. We are especially grateful to the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), the African Union and the brotherly countries of Uganda and Burundi for their heroic stand with us and their sacrifices.

My address to the Council today will be in three parts. The first will attempt to put the position of Somalia and the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in the proper perspective. The second will be on our full support to the position of the African Union, and the third will be on a few suggestions I have for the Security Council on the way forward in Somalia.

In view of the prevailing negative media coverage of Somalia and in the interest of enhancing understanding of the plight of the Somali people and their TFG, I would like to spend a few minutes, without going into unnecessary detail, on the background to our discussion. It goes without saying that, when things are not going as well as we would like, it is tempting to engage in the blame game. I guess that is part of human nature.

In our opinion, what happened to Somalia in 1990 and 1991 was a catastrophe without precedent in modern times. In Somali, we call it the *burbur*, which literally means "disintegration" or "breakdown". After 20 years of military rule, the regime came to an abrupt end without any transfer of power. The ruler — or dictator — simply walked away when his adversaries started to close in on him. He moved to a remote border area, which was his ancestral home. The rest is history. With the breakdown of law and order, what

happened afterwards was terrible but could have been even worse. For the sake of argument, let us imagine, for a moment that one's own country, God forbid, found itself in a similar situation. I am sure that the consequences would be too ghastly to contemplate.

I submit that the history of Somalia during the past two decades has not been just doom and gloom. The focus of the reporting on Somalia has been on the capital, Mogadishu, which admittedly did not do well for most of that time. But Somalia is bigger than Mogadishu. Some regions have experienced a relatively peaceful existence. The few reporters who ventured to these areas found booming towns where local businessmen, together with their relatives in the diaspora, managed to set up clinics, electricity, schools, telephones and running water despite the lack of a central Government. It was not surprising to find that the private sector moved into many areas where the Government was traditionally involved. Even in Mogadishu, private radio stations, television stations, new hotels and internet cafes could be found.

I believe that this testifies to the resilience of the Somali people. Furthermore, when the banking system collapsed with the central Government, a parallel internal banking system sprung up and is still functioning. A Somali in the diaspora can send, say, $50 to a relative in the remotest areas of Somalia, even where there is fighting at the time, within 48 hours. This is done by money-wiring services operated by Somalis for Somalis. To the surprise of many, the Somali shilling is still resilient because the informal banking sector still has faith in it.

I would like to touch briefly on the nature of the adversaries of the TFG. Every effort was made during and after the Djibouti peace process to advance reconciliation, but these extremists, with foreign ideology and support, had no interest in dialogue or the peaceful resolution of conflicts. They used force to take over the town of Baidoa, which was the seat of the TFG at the time. As soon as the TFG was installed in Mogadishu, they decided to topple it by coup. Since then, they have used relentless violence to reach their objective of destroying life, property, the TFG and AMISOM.

It can be argued that the very existence of the TFG, under the circumstances, is a clear plus. Recently, the former Prime Minister saw fit to resign in order to allow the Transitional Federal Government to go forward. This can be interpreted as an exercise in democracy and governance. Now we have a new Prime Minister, who is expected to be confirmed by Parliament momentarily and to form a new Government shortly.

I would like to reiterate that the people of Somalia and the Transitional Federal Government fully realize that the primary responsibility for stabilizing the country lies with them. Others can only help. We value our sovereignty, political independence, unity and territorial integrity. The Transitional Federal Government will do whatever it takes to stabilize the country and implement the road map provided by the Transitional Federated Charter during the remaining period of office. In that connection, we hope that the United Nations Secretary-General will be able to revisit the time needed — six months, as noted in his report — to prepare his vision of United Nations cooperation with regional groups such as the African Union.

I now would like to refer to the two important documents guiding our discussion of the situation in Somalia. The African Union communiqué and the report of the United Nations Secretary-General (S/2010/447) have both given an account of the situation in Somalia. Indeed, we remain in a dire situation, given the following aspects: first, the overall security situation and what that means for the people of Somalia, the neighbouring countries and the rest of the world; secondly, the glaring tragic humanitarian situation; thirdly, the growth and menace of piracy in the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean; fourthly, the phenomenon of virulent terrorism and extremism fuelled by Al-Qaida, foreign fighters, extremists, spoilers, saboteurs and profiteers; and fifthly, the obvious threats to international peace and security.

I now would like to go on record as completely endorsing the African Union communiqué issued on 15 October, 2010 by the African Union Peace and Security Council and made available to all Security Council members. In particular, the Transitional Federal Government welcomes the African Union calling on the Security Council to take the decisions now required of it in line with its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace by first, endorsing the African Union proposal on a new force strength of 20,000, with the requisite air and maritime capabilities, and an enhanced police component of 1,680, comprising 560 police experts on

mission, eight formed police units of 140 each and an enhanced civilian component and secondly, authorizing an enhanced support package for AMISOM, funded through United Nations assessed contributions based on the newly-authorized force strength and guaranteed reimbursement of contingent-owned equipment costs, including minor and major equipment and payment of troop allowances at United Nations rates, in order to ensure adequate, predictable and sustainable support to the Mission. In addition, the Peace and Security Council requests that such support be made available to the Mission, both within and outside Somalia, as required.

Let me now address the role of the Security Council in relation to the urgent situation in Somalia. As we all know, the Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and it is incumbent upon the Security Council to cooperate with regional and subregional organizations in matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. Such cooperation can improve collective security. We believe that the African Union is calling for such cooperation to be effective.

Furthermore, we hope that the Security Council will respond to the various Governments, peoples, institutions and organizations that do not comprehend why the Security Council has not already taken appropriate measures commensurate with the urgent situation in Somalia, by: first, taking decisions aligned with those endorsed by the African Union on numerous occasions including the African Union Peace and Security Council endorsement of 15 October 2010; secondly, demonstrating that the Council fully realizes the urgency of the situation and that it is indeed a threat to international peace and security; thirdly, reaffirming the Council's commitment and political will prioritize peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding; fourthly, committing itself to uniform standards and consistency in relation to the deployment of United Nations peacekeepers, and fifthly, convincing the international community that the Council is prepared to take decisive and urgent action whenever that is warranted.

Finally, I would like to summarize the solution, as I see it, to the Somali crisis as follows: first, the Transitional Federal Government will obviously try to organize itself and upgrade its performance in earnest despite the daunting obstacles and roadblocks; secondly, the Somali security sector, including its army and police, must be strengthened significantly to enable the establishment of law and order throughout Somalia; thirdly, AMISOM must be strengthened by resolving the urgent problems of reimbursement to the troop-contributing countries, soldier allowance parity and funding and by enabling the immediate implementation of phase I of AMISOM's mandate. The Security Council must also endorse the African Union proposal on the new force strength and revised concept of cooperation.

I believe that, if we embark on the course I have outlined above, we will achieve something worthwhile and the world will be a better place for all.

I would like to conclude by informing all Council members and the Secretary-General that the new Prime Minister was recently appointed by the President and now awaits the Parliament's confirmation. We look forward to the early formation of his cabinet. The Government has promised to fulfil the obligations of the Transitional Federal Government to, first, maintain cohesion and unity of purpose, and secondly, address the security issue in Somalia and mobilize the Somali people and its forces to reverse the security situation in Mogadishu by defeating the extremists with the confirmed support of AMISOM and the international community. We all know that there are no better people to defend their country than the country's own people. We request, therefore, that the Council provide us with the means and support us in forming our police and army to be in a situation to effectively confront the extremism, both terrorism and piracy, in our own country.

The President: I thank Foreign Minister Ibrahim for his statement. In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I should now like to invite Council members to continue our discussion on the subject in a private meeting.

The meeting rose at 11 a.m.